1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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SP23 Trumai SP23

421 437 524 [152] [527] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialisation and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 177 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.